

E

457

.7

N 26

12^{TH.}

National Republican Club

PROCEEDINGS

AT

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL DINNER

OF THE

REPUBLICAN
CLUB

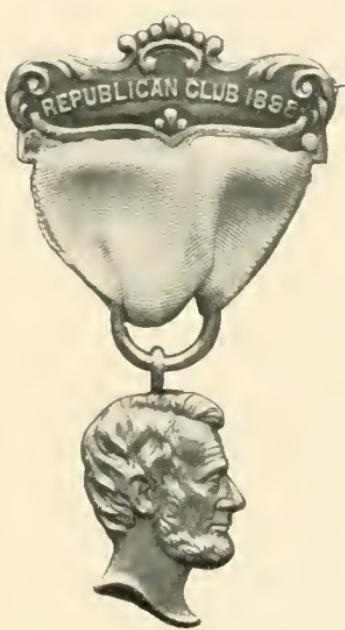
OF THE

CITY OF NEW YORK

CELEBRATED AT DELMONICO'S ON THE EIGHTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
FEBRUARY 12TH, 1898



NEW YORK
PRESS OF BEEKEN & LEAVENS
19 WARREN STREET



FOLDOUT

=OLDOUT

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EMANCIPATOR

MARTYR

BORN FEBRUARY 12TH, 1809

ADMITTED TO THE BAR 1837

ELECTED TO CONGRESS 1846

ELECTED
SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1860

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
JANUARY 1ST, 1863

RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1864

ASSASSINATED, APRIL 14TH, 1865

OFFICERS 1898

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW PRESIDENT

VICE-PRESIDENTS

CHARLES F. HOMER

LOUIS STERN

WILLIAM L. FINDLEY

SECRETARIES

ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL

HENRY BIRRELL

Recording Secretary

Corresponding Secretary

TREASURER

J. EDGAR LEAYCRAFT

LINCOLN DINNER COMMITTEE

JAMES P. FOSTER Chairman

WILLIAM D. MURPHY

Secretary

W. JENKS MERRITT

Treasurer

CHARLES H. PATRICK

EDWARD A. NEWELL

JARED G. BALDWIN, JR.

ARTHUR L. MERRIAM

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

Ex-Officio.

INVITED GUESTS.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.
VICE-PRESIDENT HOBART.
HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.
HONORABLE LYMAN J. GAGE.
HONORABLE RUSSELL A. ALGER.
HONORABLE JOHN D. LONG.
HONORABLE JOHN W. GRIGGS.
HONORABLE JAMES A. GARY.
HONORABLE JAMES WILLIAMS.
HONORABLE CORNELIUS N. BLISS.
SIR JULIEN PAUNCEFOTE.
BARON FAVA.
HONORABLE ROBERT LINCOLN.
GOVERNOR FRANK S. BLACK.
HONORABLE NATHAN GOFF.
GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.
HONORABLE PERRY S. HEATH.
REVEREND HOWARD DUFFIELD, D. D.
REVEREND W. H. P. FAUNCE, D. D.
HONORABLE HENRY D. ESTABROOK.
HONORABLE ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.
HONORABLE CHARLES A. BOUTELLE.
HONORABLE THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
HONORABLE L. E. CHITTENDEN.
HONORABLE FRANK B. CARPENTER.
H. C. DuVAL, Esq.
GENERAL THOMAS T. ECKERT.
THOMAS F. CLARKE, Esq.
GEORGE H. FEARSONS, Esq.
FRANK O. LOWDEN, Esq.
H. McKAY TWOMBLY, Esq.
GEORGE W. SMALLEY, Esq.
CHARLES P. NORCROSS, Esq.

LADIES BANQUET.

The Committee arranged for about Fifty Ladies who assembled at the same hour and enjoyed the same Menu as the Club, and who afterward occupied seats in the balcony while the speakers responded to the toasts of the evening.

TOASTS AND SPEAKERS.



Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, President.

Grace, - - - Rev. W. H. P. FAUNCE, D. D.

Patriotic Songs by - - - Mr. CORNELIUS J. BUSHNELL.

"Abraham Lincoln," - Hon. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

"United States Navy," Hon. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"The Republican Party," Hon. CHARLES A. BOUTELLE.

"Mission of America," Hon. HENRY D. ESTABROOK.

DINNER OF THE REPUBLICAN CLUB.

THE Twelfth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York was given at Delmonico's, Saturday, February 12th, 1898, on the Eighty-ninth Anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

The President of the club, Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, called upon Rev. Dr. W. H. P. Faunce to say grace.

"O, God, our father, we stand in the beginning of our feast, acknowledging thee our king, our father, our friend. We thank thee especially for the memory of him in whose name we are met to-night. We acknowledge the guiding of that mighty hand in all the story of our nation's life.

"Grant, we beseech thee, that the result of our assembling to-night may be a purer patriotism, a loftier citizenship, a nobler life; and may the government of the people and for the people never vanish from the earth. Amen."

...Menu...

OYSTERS

Soups

Consomme Daumont Cream of Asparagus

Side Dishes

Timbales Perigordine

Fish

Salmon, Mariniere Style

Duchess Potatoes

Remove

Fillet of Beef, Montebello

Baked Cauliflower

Entrees

Chapon Bressoise Fashion

French Peas

Cotelettes of Sweatbreads Parisian

Stuffed Tomatoes

SHERBET, LINCOLN

Roast

Red Head Duck

Celery Salad

Cold

Terrine of Foies Gras, Jelly

Sweets

Portuguise Apples

Fruit

Pyramids

Cakes

Fancy Ice Cream

Cheese

Saturday, February 12, 1898.

DELMONICO'S.

After the dinner Mr. Depew arose and was greeted with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers and applause, and began the speech-making of the evening.

ADDRESS OF CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I congratulate you and ourselves. We are here to-night the largest gathering on this anniversary of the Republican Club which has ever been assembled at any dinner of the club since its existence. (Applause.) We are entering upon that new era of prosperity which is always coincident with the progress of prosperity of the Republican party. (Applause.) We have with us here to-night the ancient mariner from Maine. (Applause.) We have with us also that cyclonic Dutchman, who is the only one of the modern Republicans of the race who represents the Ruyter with the broom at the mast-head when he swept everything in sight somewhere in his neighborhood. (Laughter.) We have with us this young orator from the West—(applause)—from the home of one of the brainiest, the ablest and best equipped Presidents this country ever had, Benjamin Harrison. (Applause.) We have with us also a gentleman who exhausted all there was of Nebraska and left the rest to Bryan. (Laughter and applause.) And then we concluded that the unity and harmony of the occasion would not be complete unless our mighty annex across Fifth avenue, the Union League Club, took Root in our midst. (Laughter and applause.) And to add to the grace, the beauty, the piquancy, the flower and the flavor of the occasion we sit just below the angels. (Laughter and applause.)

The Republican Club has been celebrating now for nearly two decades the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. These celebrations, many of them, have been memorable—memorable for the distinction of the statesmen who have been present, memorable for the principles which have been enunciated, and have had their influence upon coming campaigns; memorable for the brilliancy of the utterances, and especially for the delicate, tender and grand tributes to the man whose memory we are met here to celebrate. (Great applause.) To-night our special mission is to speak the truth. (Laughter.) It is a difficult thing to do for some people, but not for the President of the Republican Club. (Applause and laughter.) The truth has never hurt a man and never hurt a party. The opposite has often killed one or put it in temporary

paralysis. (Laughter.) No matter who it hits or who it hurts, and if it hits or hurts they deserve to be hurt or hit, let us speak our minds.

The Republican party was founded in 1856 upon three principles—free soil, free men, free speech. (Applause.) There is no sod covered by the American flag that is not to-day absolutely free. There is no slave under the stars and stripes. (Applause.) There is seldom free speech. (Laughter.) This is not because we are not emancipated but because of what we hope for we dare not. (Laughter.) My advice as a veteran, free from ambitions—(laughter)—and occupying to-night the condition of a sage, is speak your mind if you want to win in the end; but do not write letters or you may walk Spanish. (Great applause and laughter.) We have met here under many conditions in the last eighteen years of hope and despair, of brightness and of gloom, but there never has been an adjournment of the Republican Club in its annual celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, whether it was a night of gloom or a night of light, that it has not been full of hope and of inspiration for the principles which we love and the party to which we are devoted. (Applause.) When we met here in 1892 the rising tide of prosperity had reached the point or the height where upon the great pole which marks it old Father Time had cut deep the notch which had never been reached before and has never been reached since, the height of prosperity, the height of employment for capital and of labor, the height of the best conditions which have existed in the country under the closing days of the administration of Benjamin Harrison. (Applause.) When we came together in 1893 the tide had receded and the shores were strewn with the wrecks of business, of employment, of fortunes and of homes. When we met in 1894 it was still in gloom. When we met in 1895 the country was in the possession of forces of distrust, lack of confidence and despair. When we met in 1896 or in 1897 then the matter had changed. Changed why? Because, after the greatest contest of the century, the contest between the forces of economic policy on the one side and on the other the forces of heresy in currency, or that currency which places us in contact with the commercial nations of the world. The principles which won on the one side have been the historic principles of the Republican party for the protection of American industry, and the other side principles of the Republican party and of every honest Democrat for sound money and a gold standard. (Cries of "Hear!" Hear!" and great applause.) In the processes of legislation and in the fulfillment of our pledges we have given to the country our economic policy. We have not yet touched the other and the greater question. But one-half conceded, and what has been the result? Compare a year ago and compare to-

day, and you see the furnaces in blast, you see the mills going, you see multitudes then unemployed now in labor and enjoying the fruits of their labor, and you see everywhere the hum of the spindle and the roar of industry. But every man who has contemplated this situation knows that all this is temporary, that there can be no permanent prosperity, that there can be no sure basis for national credit, that there can be no sure basis for the employment of capital and labor, that there can be no sure basis for the business man to grasp the factors of business for the future unless the currency question ceases to be political and is settled upon a basis that places us in harmony with the civilized world. (Great applause.)

While we are apt here in the vanity of our concentration of all the intelligence of the country in Greater New York—(laughter)—to look with a certain degree of contempt upon Colorado, or upon Kansas, the responsibility is as great upon us as upon Colorado or upon Kansas. We, the greatest of business States, with the largest stack in sound money, have in the Senate of the United States cast one-half of our vote for a debased currency—(hisses)—and the responsibility is ours. Gentlemen, we meet to-night while discussing frankly these questions and expressing our opinions honestly, with Lincoln's motto when he was pleading with the misguided Southern brethren, "Charity for all and malice toward none." (Great applause.) But, as Lincoln met the misguided Southern brethren, the fight is on and must be fought to a finish. (Applause.) Debased currency and slavery must take their same positions. (Applause.) But, gentlemen, all of us who have been in any form teachers, whether they have been members of the national Congress, whether they have been writers for the newspapers, or whether they have been orators upon the platform, whether they have been Republicans or sound-money Democrats, we all want to crawl under the mantle of charity. We have all preached bad currency. We have all preached bimetallism, which is another name for all the worst that there is. We have all tried to fool ourselves in the hope that we would fool the people and get them to our side. I met last week in Washington a distinguished Senator, and he said to me: "I have been for years preaching and teaching bimetallism to my constituency, and I never awoke until the last fall's election to the fact that I was teaching them the very heresy that I was trying to extirpate." (Laughter.) We had it in our Republican platform that we should send a commission abroad to see whether we could establish bimetallic relations with the older nations of Europe, and we have been speaking in Senate and in House that we hoped it would succeed; and with what result? Multitudes of Republicans taught by ourselves that bimetallism was wedded to prosperity,

victed with us for McKinley, for Hobart and for gold, but when they found we wavered they believed that our plea was with our tongue in our cheeks and it was simply a campaign cry. And the result is seen in Ohio, the result is seen in New York, the result is seen wherever an election has been held this fall. Whenever you compromise with the devil, before you get through the devil will get you. (Cries of "you are right" and great applause.) Many of my classmates became clergymen, and I was the frightful example. (Laughter.) They died in African sands and I live at Republican banquets. (Laughter.) But I learned from what they said that if you want to convert the heathen you cannot fool with his fetish; you must smash it—(laughter)—and then he knows there is no divinity left in him, and that is 16 to 1. (Laughter.) Now, Demetrius, the silversmith of Ephesus—(laughter)—was the wise man of his time. He did not take any stock in Diana. He had made her and he knew her. (Laughter.) She was not made in Germany. She was made in Ephesus. But he saw very clearly that if Paul was succeeding and would succeed in knocking Diana out his business was gone in selling silver images; and he drove Paul out. (Laughter.) He understood his business and Paul understood his. Paul had more courage than we. When the early Christians broke those magnificent images, those great creations in the Parthenon and at Olympia, the whole heathen world cried against the desecration of art, but the early Christians knew that the highest art had been wedded in the minds of the people with divinity, and they had to smash the idol before they could open the windows of the soul to the light of Heaven. (Cries of "Good, good.") When the early Puritans went around smashing cathedrals and destroying vestments and ridiculing all the forms of established religion, the whole of the church world cried out against them as the enemies of God. But because they destroyed the cathedrals and because they smashed in pieces the venerable images of antiquity we have to-day the emancipation of civil and religious liberty. (Great applause.) But there has been a light in the darkness, and it has clarified the atmosphere. It came to us first after this gloom of compromise and of doubt in the clear, superb and easily understood utterance of President McKinley at the Manufacturers' banquet. (Great applause.) It came to us again when the House of Representatives smashed the Teller silver resolution. (Great applause.) Then we knew that the time had passed when any Republican politician could be any longer successful on "good Lord and good devil." (Laughter.) We have no room any more for that class of public men who are happily illustrated by the experience of a village church which I will not locate at Peekskill. (Laughter.) There was an infidel element in the congregation whose mental equipment was en-

tirely too much for the dear old pastor, who never knew much when he left the seminary, and knew less every year afterwards—(laughter)—and the church was going to pieces, and the elders and trustees, as the trustees and elders always do, looking at the material side of the question—(laughter)—said we must have somebody who will unite this church. We have heard something of the same thing in the papers recently. (Laughter.) I do not belong to that congregation. (Laughter.) And so they called a man who was famous for harmonizing congregations—(laughter)—and for uniting the sinners with the saints; and his opening sermon did the business for the church. He said: "My brethren and sisters, I understand that there are some people in this church who believe that there is a God. (Laughter.) I understand that there are others in this church who believe that there is no God. Now, the truth must be somewhere between the two." (Laughter, and renewed laughter.) It has been the boast of the Republican party that it was a national party. We have sympathized with and laughed at our Democratic friends because you could be a Democrat while you were a free silver man in a free silver State, and a fiat money man in a fiat money State, and you could be any kind of a money man in any kind of a State which like that scrip or kind of money which was printed with the money of that State. (Laughter.) But when you came to a Republican it was one principle for the whole country, North, South, East or West, and that has been the glory of our party. (Cries of "That's right.") When the Republican party has temporized it has gone to deserved defeat. (Cries of "Sure" and great applause.) The Whig party went to its death because it dared not meet the question of the hour. The Republican party failed in 1856 because it dared not grasp and present the whole of the truth. The Republican party went to victory and sustained victory when Abraham Lincoln, against the advice of every leader in his State, made that speech which they said would kill him and kill the party; and he said, "I would rather die with the truth than live with a lie." (Applause.) What was that speech? It was this, and at a time when four-fifths of the Republican party believed that you could not safely touch slavery. He said this country cannot exist permanently half slave and half free. It will either become all one or all the other. That speech defeated him for the Senatorship against Stephen A. Douglass. That speech frightened the politician but enlightened the conscience of the nation, and brought up truth from the depths of error. (Great applause.) That speech made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States. (Applause.) That speech produced the emancipation proclamation. That speech reunited and recemented this Union, and that speech, when its spirit had

been fulfilled, has always resulted in Republican victory. (Great applause.) I have no sympathy, I take no part nor lot in the doctrine of temporary expediency. (Cries of "That's it;" "that's right.") We are facing in the business of this country the greatest crisis of the hour, temporarily won. When I was in Washington the other day I found the whole sentiment of Washington was that McKinley and Reed and Dingley and Gage were talking well and telling the truth, but it was bad politics. (Cries of "No." "No.") Why, if it is bad politics then the only good politics for the Republican party, for we all look with the same eyes no matter what we say, the only good politics for the Republican statesman who wants to win is Mark Twain's definition of faith. He says faith is believing what you know is not so. (Laughter.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are here to-night without any obligations and without any restraint. We are here because we believe that McKinley and Gage and Tom Reed and Dingley are expressing the truth, and the Republican truth. (Cries of "Yes." "Yes.") We are here because we feel from their utterances and recent occurrences the thrill of battle. Whenever there is a great war on and news comes from the battle where our boys have stood up well, whether victorious or defeated, there is no fibre and no nerve of the man at home or the woman at home or the child at home that does not respond by the electric wires to the falling or the living in the field. And there are victories in the forum which are of more moment to the Republic than the most decisive victories on the battle-field. I know nothing in the history of the Senate more magnificent than when the silver resolution came down from the Senate. It had behind it the prestige and the power and the magnificence of the most august body of our Government. It was like the charge of the Old Guard at Waterloo; but, like the charge of the Old Guard at Waterloo, it crumbled, it fell down, it bit the dust upon the solid square of honest money led by that greatest parliamentarian of our time, Thomas B. Reed. (Great applause and long-continued applause.)

To-night we wreath the brow of the statue of Abraham Lincoln with our flowers of memory and of affection. To-night we strew the base of his statue with our flowers of love and veneration. To-night we hail him dead as his contemporaries hailed him living; hail him as the best representative of the possibilities of American citizenship for the humblest boy—(cries of "Hear!" "Hear!") hail him as the statesman who was the second savior of the Republic; hail him for that genial humor and wit which prevents him being lifted out of the plane of our common humanity into the atmosphere of Washington, where we can never know him; hail him because in his life or in his principles and in all that he

did and all that he was and all that he left us he is the perennial and perpetual leader of the Republican party. (Great applause and three cheers for President Depew.)

ADDRESS OF HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

The Chairman—And now, gentlemen, I propose to you the sentiment of the evening, which will be responded to by a gentleman of the West, young as Lincoln was when he first uttered that eloquence which began Lincoln's career; and in introducing him to you, I beg to propose the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

This will be responded to by Mr. Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana. (Great applause).

Toast—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—To-day, when the Republican party is marshalling its forces for its second great battle for civilization, it is an inspiration to remember that Abraham Lincoln was a Republican. He was a Republican in order that he might most truly be American. He was a Republican because Republicanism meant equal opportunities for all—because it meant the rights of man reduced from theory into practice. Abraham Lincoln was a Republican because the Republican party was the first organization that ever asserted and accomplished the nobility of labor—the first to put the plough, the loom, the anvil and the pick in the heraldry of honor and of glory. (Cries of "Good," "good," and applause.) He was a Republican because the Republican party was practical—because it changed dreams into deeds, proposed as well as opposed, builded where it tore away, and destroyed only when destruction would not be fatal to that which should remain. This soul of the common people was a Republican because Republicanism meant the nation triumphant over sections; because Republicanism was the organized conscience of the people guided by their sanity; because it meant the common man working out the problems of civilization through the methods of conservatism. (Applause.) Abraham Lincoln was a Republican because he believed in a national government strong enough to live; because he believed that maintenance of law needs no apology; because he believed, to use his own words, that "there is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by a mob." (Great applause.) He was a Republican because he

was a logician of progress, and therefore understood that a home market is the major premise, a foreign market the minor premise, and American supremacy throughout the world the conclusion of the great argument of commerce. (Great applause.) He was a Republican because, above national prosperity, above national peace, dearer than all besides, Abraham Lincoln counted the honor of the American people and raised his warning hand to Congress even when war called out the emergency financial powers of government. (Great applause.) And our hero was a Republican because the Republican party meant a new hope to all mankind; because in the word Republican, as Abraham Lincoln uttered it, was mingled the music of falling fetters, the songs of toiler in factory and field, the shouts of happy children made heirs of opportunity and the anthem of God's plain people raised to their just estate. (Great applause.) This was our leader—this is our master still. Let those who will adopt repudiation's financial creed, embrace the sectional doctrines dug from Calhoun's grave, and accept the gospel of hate preached from pessimism's pulpit. But "with malice toward none and charity for all," the host of conservatism, called the Republican party, believing ever in the eternal good, will receive our principles, our policy and our inspiration from Abraham Lincoln, the first of Republicans. (Great applause.)

Abraham Lincoln is the nation's well beloved, and so all men write into his life their individual opinions. But we, the heirs of his party and his purposes, have a right to know the truth. This great achiever was practical. When preparing for his work he said: "How to do something is the desideratum." And, seeking an answer, he found that, where manhood suffrage prevails, no thought can be written into law, no purpose find fulfillment except through that organization of those who think alike, called a political party. And so he believed in this co-operation in principle, that brotherhood of belief called partisanship. (Great applause.) He was himself a partisan—the partisan of a cause—that cause the saving of the nation. All else compared to that was unimportant. That was why he wrote that impatient tempest of patriotism, Horace Greeley, "My paramount object is to save the Union." That was the issue that burned from every star in the flag. Until that was settled—until the nation's life was safe—he asked patriot's everywhere to forget everything but that and become in every election the partisans of civilization. (Great applause.) And to-day, when the honor of the American people is the issue; to-day, when free institutions are on trial; to-day, when questions that search out the very heart of organized society are involved, the spirit of Abraham Lincoln commands all who agree on the principles of conservatism to forget incidental differences

and strike together everywhere and always until repudiation, sectionalism and the spirit of class are utterly exterminated. (Great applause.) Any issue that beclouds the issue of all issues is an instrument of defeat. In Lincoln's day one issue was supreme—loyalty to the nation. Had he not acted on that, and that alone, New York to-day would have been the port of a section instead of the metropolis of the mightiest nation on the globe. (Cries of "Hear," "hear," and great applause.)

To-day disintegrating issues are advocated. Bizarre beliefs abound. Old convictions are being unanchored. And it is time the steady elements of the American people answered the command of conservatism to "Fall in." We hear of a new Declaration of Independence. I prefer the old Declaration of the fathers. (Great applause.) We need no new philosophy of society or of politics to-day. We only need a renaissance of common sense. (Great applause.) The political philosophy of Abraham Lincoln is guide enough. If you ask me to state that philosophy in a phrase I should answer that his life spells out these two immortal words, patriotic conservatism. He knew that the conservative elements of the American people are always in the majority. No matter what individual views on incidentals might be, he knew that the sight of the country's imperilled flag would marshall those elements into an irresistible host. He knew that they need only to see the main issue and they will respond. (Great applause.) And so out of the men of all parties who agreed on the issue of the integrity of the nation Abraham Lincoln fashioned that splendid party of conservatism which met the emergency of war and won, met the emergency of reconstruction and won, met the emergency of resumption and won, met the problem of national prosperity for thirty years and solved it, and stands to-day strengthened as it was created by the conservative elements of all parties, ready to meet the emergency of repudiation and industrial chaos and triumph as of old. (Great applause. Renewed applause.) Across the page of events the spirit of Lincoln has written the mission of the Republican party. The mission is conservatism—the rejection of extremes—the conduct of the Government by common honesty and common sense rather than by fanaticism and revenge. (Great applause.) Conservatism is merely progress by the processes of growth. It is government by experience instead of experiment. It is moderation instead of violence.

How does the present situation require Lincolnian conservatism?

On the one hand the tendency of the Democracy of to-day is toward destruction. The Huns and vandals among them are on the march. There is an implied promise of piracy in every

utterance of some of the leaders. They awaken expectations which nothing but the abolition of property and the reversal of civilization can fulfill. Every sane man knows that free silver alone would not quench the flames which reckless extremists are fanning. The readjustment of society is the ultimate answer to the implied question which the new commune thoughtlessly puts to civilization. (Great applause.) That is one extreme.

On the other hand, there are abuses of capital which furnish the pillagers a war cry—(great applause)—improper uses of riches which the Catalines use as examples to discredit all wealth; vulgar ostentations of money which unsheathe envy and whet hatred; a meddling with the making and the execution of the laws; a controlling of the natural laws of trade by unlawful devices. But these financial developments are not structural defects. Free institutions are not responsible for them. They are merely a natural tendency developed beyond their rightful sphere and requiring rebuke, regulation and restraint. (Great applause. Cries of "Three cheers for Beveridge.") These developments have no party, gentlemen. They use all parties for their purpose. There are only two things in civilization which are absolutely nonpartisan—a mugwump and a trust. (Great laughter; renewed applause and laughter.)

What is the policy of the Republican party in this situation? Go, as Abraham Lincoln always did, to the plain people and learn from them. They will tell you that our policy is Lincolnian conservatism. Abraham Lincoln's plain people are weary with both extremes. They demand that the party of Abraham Lincoln shall, with one hand, take by the throat that idiot Greed, who gives the demagogue his incendiary text, and with the other hand take by the throat the demagogue himself and knock their heads together until robbery is knocked out of the one and anarchy out of the other, and common sense and patriotism knocked into the heads of both. (Great applause; renewed applause. Cries of "You're a daisy.") The producing millions demand a truce to needless agitation. (Applause.) They demand an opportunity to create prosperity. (Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!" and great applause). They demand that the honor of the nation be put beyond the reach of demagogue or fool. (Great applause.) They repudiate revenge as a motive of political action. (Cries of "Good," "Good.") They expect improper commercial developments to be corrected without violating the principles upon which civilization rests. (Cries of "That is so.") They demand laws so just and so equally enforced that the lips of sedition will be padlocked by the peace they bring. (Great applause.) In short, Abraham Lincoln's plain people demand Abraham Lincoln's conservatism, and Abraham Lincoln's party is here to give it to them. (Cries of "Right!" "Right!")

The plain people! There is the source of Abraham Lincoln's wisdom. Lincoln, the rail-splitter, and Emerson, the scholar, agreed. The unprejudiced instinct of the masses is unerring. The common sense of the plain people, who in peace create the wealth, and in war carry the muskets of the Republic, is ultimately an unfailing guide. (Great applause.) Abraham Lincoln was one of these. Their conscience was his oracle. Their thought was his counsel. He preferred the matured judgment of the ploughman, the blacksmith and the merchant to the opinion of any doctrinaire who ever lived. (Applause.) And the lesson of his life to the party he so loved is to take our orders from the plain people who founded the Republican party, and for whom, alone, this Republic is worth preserving. (Great applause.)

Abraham Lincoln coined the phrase "The plain people." He bequeathed it to us, and it is ours. It is and shall forever be the Republican party's shibboleth. But demagogues have learned its power, and used it, too, until, like liberty, crimes are committed in its name and its Lincolnian meaning is obscured. The professionally miserable are not the plain people. (Laughter.) The "plain people" are not those who preach the gospel of despair; not those whose trade is discontent and whose occupation is idleness. (Great applause.) A man does not become one of the plain people merely by getting into debt—(laughter)—nor cease to be one of them by getting out of debt. (Laughter.) Rags are not a necessary badge of the "plain people," although a pauper may be one of them—(great applause)—nor is wealth, although a millionaire may be one of "the plain people," too. (Laughter; renewed laughter.)

But Abraham Lincoln's plain people are those who understand that labor is the law of life for all, be they railroad presidents or section hands. (Great applause.) They are those who believe in that old phrase, "the brotherhood of man." (Great applause.) They are those who acknowledge and accept the opportunities of American institutions. (Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!") The plain people of Lincoln's love are they who understand that Liberty did not intend to abolish Labor, Thought and Thrift, that blessed trinity that presides over all prosperity. (Great applause.) They are those who believe that Nature should not be repealed—those who do not expect law to do for them what they should do for themselves. (Great applause.) These are the plain people who produced an Abraham Lincoln and a Republican party, and it is time that those who misuse that term should be reminded of what it means, and rebuked in the reminding. (Cries of "Good," "good," and applause.)

Abraham Lincoln was the spirit of the plain people incarnate, and therefore he was the spirit of nationality incarnate. For the

plain people know no sections—they only know American citizenship. (Great applause.) Sections exist only in the minds of politicians too small for the nation. (Great applause.) Abraham Lincoln knew that the people's Constitution begins with "We the people;" that the people's nation "guarantees to every State a republican form of government," and so he sent the plain people, wearing the nation's uniform and carrying the nation's flag wherever the nation's Constitution required it, and asked no treasonable Governor's permission. (Great applause.) He taught the American people that the golden rule of patriotism is unity. This imperial city is not New York's alone—she is the pride of the entire nation. (Great applause.) Your prosperity depends on the prosperity of the American people. You dare not be selfish even if you would. We hear men talking about New York and its business men wanting to injure the American people. How absurd! since injury to the American people is suicide to you, and since injury to you is misfortune to them. (Great applause.) Your wisest selfishness is to help the general welfare. Whatever truly blesses Nebraska blesses New York as well. You are not "the enemy's country." (Cries of "No," "No," "No, sir," "No, sir.") New York is too great to be anybody's enemy. (Great applause.) To be an enemy to any American citizen is to be an enemy to yourself. We of the central West would not let you be our enemy even if you wished to. (Laughter.) Why? Because you are too useful—(laughter)—and because you are an American port. (Great applause.) No foreign ship can ever shell Indianapolis—no foreign force invade us. Yet, because we believe as Lincoln believed, because the Pacific coast is our coast and Sandy Hook American soil, Indiana and the Republic's heart is in favor of coast defenses and a navy that can render every port of the Republic as secure as Indianapolis itself. (Great applause long continued.) And I will say for the benefit of Mr. Roosevelt that we are not only in favor of the ships but we are in favor of dry-docks good enough to hold them. (Laughter.) For although we are landsmen we know enough to know that a ship without a dry-dock is like a man without a wife—it cannot travel far without getting out of repair. (Laughter and applause; renewed laughter.) If invasion should come to you the West would give her blood to help defend you, our brothers of the flag, and we prefer to help protect you first. (Great applause.) All this is true because at the firesides of the West the national spirit of Abraham Lincoln is dwelling still, and the new sectionalism has not gangrened our hearts. All this is true because the virile, unspoiled and exhaustless West, that gave you Morton, Grant and Lincoln, is still true to their teachings and therefore still Republican. (Great applause.)

Abraham Lincoln knew no class—he only knew the people. Attempts to divide the land into sections and the people into classes is accursed, whether the time be 1860 or 1896. (Cries of "Good," "good," and great applause.) The Constitution says "We, the people;" therefore whoever says "We are the classes" is a traitor to American institutions. (Great applause.) Classes in a republic is a contradiction in terms. What is the dividing line? Wealth? If so how much? (Laughter.) If a man is poor is he one of the masses? When labor, thought and thrift have filled his pockets is he one of the classes? If so all men may destroy the dividing line. If not, there is no line to destroy.

Yet Lincoln's name is used to incite labor against capital. Let Lincoln's words rebuke the maligners of his thought and deeds. This is what he said: "That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should, after a while, accumulate capital, and, after that, should be allowed to enjoy it, is right." (Cries of "Good." "Good.") "Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much higher consideration;" but "capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights." (Applause.) That was Lincoln's idea. Labor is as necessary as food; capital is as necessary as civilization. (Great applause.) Nothing but malevolence would create hatred between them or prejudice against either. It is as infamous to lay the practices of financial pirates at the door of capital as it is to lay the deeds of anarchists and outlaws at the door of labor. Evils of wealth there are, and the party of Abraham Lincoln proposes to remedy them by Lincoln's methods of conservatism. Evils of wealth there are, and the American Robespierres propose, not to remedy, but to annihilate by reaction and revenge. The whole issue is summed up in this: The Republican party means evolution; the Democratic party means revolution. (Great applause.) And in a republic there can be no excuse for revolution. (Great applause.)

Lincoln loved the people so well that nothing was too good for them—not even the truth. "I have faith in the people. Let them know the truth and the country is safe." These are Lincoln's words, spoken for this very hour. He did not regard it as a criminal act to buy a government bond. His chief financial concern was to get them sold. (Laughter.) He regarded the promises of this nation of honest men as the most sacred things in all this world. He knew that the faith of American institutions is written in the American people's obligations. Why? The bonds of a monarchy are the promises of the people's masters; if they default it is only another king dishonored. But the bonds of a republic are the promises of the people; if they default free institutions are dishonored. (Great applause.) Abraham Lin-

coln believed that the obligations of the American people should be made the most attractive investment and kept the best security known to man. So does the Republican party. Abraham Lincoln believed that they should be sold to and held by the people; so does the Republican party. Abraham Lincoln loved the people too much to permit their promissory notes to be libelled even by the Senate of the United States; and so does the people's chosen successor to Lincoln's place and principles, William McKinley. (Great applause.) If any man doubts where the Republican party stands let him inquire where Abraham Lincoln would stand if he were alive to-day, and there he will find the Republican party "standing like a stone wall." (Great applause.)

Abraham Lincoln was as sound on finance as he was on liberty. He had indulged in thought on the subject of money. (Laughter.) He had read the history of his country. And history and thought inspired this prince of purity to use language for which an Altgeld court martial would have convicted him of being a hireling of the money power. (Cries of "Good," "good.") For Lincoln told Congress that redundant issues of paper money had "increased prices beyond real values, thereby augmenting the cost of living to the injury of labor, and the cost of supplies to the injury of the whole country." (Cries of "Hear," "hear.") These are Lincoln's words, and their keenness cuts the heart out of inflation, and inflation is all there is of Bryanesque finance. (Great applause.) History and thought had taught Abraham Lincoln that inflated prices mean immediate loss to labor and ultimate loss to all. He had mastered first principles. He knew that a government cannot make money; that the only way a government gets money is to take it by taxation or to get it by borrowing; that if the Government can make money all taxation is a crime; and that if it cannot make money its credit is its principal asset. (Great applause.) And, taking first principles for his premises, he stated the necessary conclusion—for Lincoln was a logician and did not stop on the road of his reasoning to refresh himself with his own rhetoric—(laughter)—and became intoxicated on mixed metaphors. (Laughter.) He did not understand this latter day logic which eliminates the conclusion from a syllogism, substitutes a phillipic for the syllogism itself, calls the whole process oratory, and writes *quod erat demonstrandum* beneath a jcremiad. (Laughter; renewed laughter.) But he stated his conclusion with truth's simplicity and said: "A return to specie payments at the earliest period should ever be kept in view. Fluctuations in the value of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation." That is not the language of Wall street, gentlemen—nor of Lombard street—it is the

slemn warning of the saviour of his country. (Great applause.) And Abraham Lincoln said all this, too, when the angel of war sewed fire and death throughout the land and the nation bound up its wounds with the money of emergency. Shall we depart from his principles now, after a generation of prosperity and in a time of profoundest peace? By our belief in his wisdom, no! We appeal from his misinterpreters to Lincoln's very words. We appeal from passion unto reason. We appeal from sectionalism to nationality. In the name of Lincoln we appeal to that infallible judge—the conscience of the conservative masses whom our hero loved to call the plain people of the Republic! With that ultimate judge, whose voice is indeed the voice of God, we fearlessly leave the rendering of this decree of destiny. (Great applause; renewed applause.)

Mr. President and gentlemen, standing at the daybreak of the twentieth century, Abraham Lincoln's party tells free institutions to take courage. With his life as an inspiration, with his principles as a guide, we will, we can know no defeat. We fight a battle of patriotic affection. Even our opponents are our brothers—kinsmen in Liberty. We appeal to them as did our master “with malice toward none and charity for all.” In our hearts there is no hate. We seek no partisan victory which does not mean a healing to the nation and a hope to all mankind. We are enlisted in a holy crusade of patriotism. We go forth as our fathers did at Lincoln's call, to preserve and not destroy. We fight because we love and not because we hate. With a past filled with memories so heroic and so glorious, so sacred and so sweet that mankind has set them next to the memories of the Cross—memories which that old sword that father left to some of us calls upon from our full hearts—memories of Donaldson and Vicksburg, of Mission Ridge and Appomattox and all those heroic fields of glory—and, finally, with memories of him whose name brings loving tears to every patriot's eye—of him, our leader, master, friend and friend of all mankind—with memories like those to chasten, ennable and direct, we turn our faces full to the morning ready to perform the mission which he gave into our keeping, “to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle,” and to see that “a government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth,” because it is the wisest, safest, purest, most prosperous and most honorable government known to man. (Great and prolonged applause. “Three cheers for Beveridge.”)

ADDRESS OF HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The President—Ladies and gentlemen, some one while our eloquent friend was speaking, called “Hurrah for Beveridge.” I think we can all join in the sentiment and say that “good wine knows no bush.” (Laughter.) Anybody who says that eloquence is likely to die has only to know young men like Beveridge. (Cries of “Good,” “good.”)

Now we are presented with a crisis by a man who always creates a row wherever he is. It is Teddy Roosevelt. (Laughter.) He is the storm centre of a cyclone as much as Abe Gruber. (Laughter.) He says he has got to catch a 12 o'clock train. I have heard men say that before when they wanted to be called early in the game. (Laughter.) But so long as Boutelle believes him I cannot dispute him. I will say this, though, brother Roosevelt furnished Mayor Strong, and I want to say for Mayor Strong in my judgment he is the best Mayor in my generation. (Cries of “You bet.”) He furnished Mayor Strong with that axiom which has become part of our mother English tongue, and which I find in the book of epigrams of famous men, “He seen his duty and he done it.” (Laughter.)

Our friend and brother, Beveridge, has tried to make Eckert and myself feel good by calling us the champion monopolists of the evening, and I now wish to introduce the cyclonic Dutchman of the hour, Theodore Roosevelt. (Three cheers were then given for Mr. Roosevelt.)

Toast—UNITED STATES NAVY.

On behalf of Mr. Gruber and myself I thank the Chairman. Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Beveridge having alluded to some of the more pressing naval needs, I may mention that recently in discussing with my Chief, Secretary Long, the fact that the dry dock we had inherited was not always dry, I suggested that we should call in an expert from the far interior and get a Chicago man who built the Sault Ste. Marie business to come here and see if he could not make it all right.

Gentlemen, the text for what I have to say could be found in a hundred places in the writings and speeches of Abraham Lincoln, and was put more than once far better than I could put it by Mr. Beveridge to-night, than whom I have never heard any one expound the principles for which Abraham Lincoln lived and died more ably. (Cries of "Good," "good," and applause.)

When I speak of the United States Navy I do not have to make a merely party speech, for when we reach the water line our party differences cease and we are all Americans; but I am glad to say, and I think we have a right to say, that the Republican party has been peculiarly and most intimately associated with the upbuilding of the navy. It was under the Republican party, under Lincoln, that the United States took the lead among all modern nations when for the first time it built a modern navy, the navy of steam and of iron. The new navy was begun under the administration of a Republican Secretary, Mr. Chandler, and it has been carried on very largely through the aid of a man who has had quite as much weight in building it up as any Secretary, the man who under a Republican House has been invariably the Chairman of the Naval Committee, the man who fought on the old navy and helped build up the new, Mr. Boutelle. (Great applause.)

Fifteen years ago we had no navy in the modern sense. Fifteen years ago we stood below Chili's fame as a naval power. Now we tie with Germany for the fifth place, and if we are not recreant in our duty we will not rest content with what we have done, but we will keep on in the work of upbuilding the navy, battleships, torpedo boats, dry docks, until the United States, as it should, stands among the first nations of the earth. (Great applause.) And we do not ask a navy because we believe in going to war. We ask a navy that we may honorably preserve peace. It was the fact that the navy had been begun that we steered clear of our difficulties with Chili under President Harrison, and if we did not have a navy to-day we should most assuredly be in imminent danger of being forced into war with one or another of the foreign powers, for, as Washington said, "the surest way to keep peace is to be prepared for war." (Applause.)

The navy is pre-eminently the arm of the Government on which it must rely on carrying out any foreign policy. I feel that in this age we do well to remember what Mr. Beveridge brought out, that Abraham Lincoln, who prized the material prosperity of his country so much, prized her honor even more, that he was willing to jeopardize for a moment the material welfare of our citizens that in the long run her honor might be established. There are unhappily among us not a few good, honest citizens who are either cursed with the curse of timidity or afflicted with parochial minds. (Laughter.) I have great respect for the man of wealth,

and even greater respect for the scholar, but the scholar who is incapable of following the actual strife of living except as he sees it from the standpoint of the cloister, the man of wealth who comes to regard wealth as life and the variations of the stock market as more important than the preservation of national honor, those men become undesirable citizens no matter how good they may be in their families or how faithful they may be in performing their ordinary civic duties. (Great applause.) So it is with the men of merely parochial minds, who have no nobler idea than to make the nation a nation of prosperous hucksters. The men in whose names we now glory are not the men who merely built up the material prosperity of the country. It was the Grants, the Lincolns, the Sheridans, the Farraguts, the men who on sea and ashore fought to uphold the honor of the flag and to make it one flag. (Great applause.) I would not for one moment be misunderstood as in any way failing to realize that business energy, business enterprise, business thrift, make the foundation of our national greatness. They make the foundation, but they are not in themselves enough. Every man must eat bread to live. But we have high scriptural authority for the statement that man shall not live by bread alone; and neither shall a nation live by material prosperity alone, essential though that material prosperity always is. In the noble words of one of the great poets of recent times, "A great nation must dare to be great." We cannot help facing the responsibilities that are thrust upon us. All we can determine is as to whether we will face them well or face them ill. We do not create the difficulties. We have to face the fact that they exist. I earnestly hope that this country will continue, as for seventy-five years we have continued, to uphold the Monroe doctrine—(great applause)—the doctrine as pronounced by John Quincy Adams and insisted upon again and again since, through the days of Seward to our own. Insisted upon against foreign nation after foreign nation, that no European power should acquire fresh territory on American soil, either on the American continent or the islands bordering them. (Great applause.) When I say that I hope that the American people will live up to that doctrine and insist upon it it must be willing to pay it more than lip loyalty. We all despise the coward, but we despise still more the bully who talks loudly. And, sorry though I be, ashamed though I feel all Americans should be, if we abandon the Monroe doctrine, it would be better to abandon it outright than to bluster about carrying it out and to fail to prepare the means by which we could carry it out. (Great applause.) And the worst wrong that can be committed upon this subject is committed by those men who would seek to entangle us in foreign difficulties and would deny us the means by which we can make

our position good if it is challenged. (Great applause.) Many problems come up that we have got to face. We may not like to have them exist, but we cannot prevent their existence; we have to face them. In what the Administration is now doing in seeking to bring about the control of the Hawaiian Islands; we did not create the Hawaiian Islands; we did not create Hawaii. It is there. All we can do is to decide whether we shall make it an outpost of defense for the Pacific slope or allow it to be taken by the first hostile power with whom we are brought into contact, to be seized as the surest means of offense against the Pacific coast cities; and I hail the words of Mr. Beveridge when he pointed out that to the men of Indiana the welfare of the cities of the seacoast is as close as to the men who dwell in them; and so we who dwell upon the Atlantic the welfare of our brethren on the Pacific coast counts for as much as our own welfare counts; no harm could come to them, we would not bow our heads in shame.

The right arm of the country with reference to any foreign policy is and must be the navy. I believe emphatically in ample fortifications; but remember those forts may defend you in time of war, but they will never avert war. A powerful navy, a navy able to act on the defensive, and the only way in which you can successfully act on the defensive is by taking the offensive—(laughter)—is the only way in which you can depend on them. (Applause.) No man ever won a fight by parrying; he won by hitting. (Laughter.) No foreign nation ever yet was deterred from going to war with another for fear it might be hurt if attacked from the enemies' fires. But all foreign nations will think twice before they meddle with a nation having ships like ours, manned by such officers and men as those who now man our ships, such as Admiral Sicard, provided we go on, as under the lead of Mr. Boutelle, we have gone on in the past, and build up the navy so that it stands equal to the needs of the nation, so that it shall stand equal to the needs of any crisis. I do not ask it because any one wants war. No man in his senses, no true patriot would invoke war lightly, would fail to realize the misery it would bring; but we must be ready, and we must also remember that there are peaces so ignoble that they are worse than any war. Look at the example of China to-day—China that has been the ideal Mugwump nation—(laughter)—and see what has befallen it through trusting that if it would never do anything except keep to itself it could escape an aggression. We are not Chinese by a long shot—(laughter)—and we will never suffer that fate. We will never suffer such a fate. But bitter disaster, bitter humiliation may come to us if we forget that no national courage of our people, no patriotism of our people would avail us in the sudden emergency

if called upon under a sudden emergency to face a great military nation if we had not made that preparation of material and that training of personnel which alone would make us able to hold up our heads. And I ask for a navy because, though it would help preserve our military prosperity, it is not on that ground alone I ask it, but so that we may be able at any time to assert our rights fearlessly, to demand that the honor of the Union be upheld by its representatives without regard to what any foreign power says; with regard only to what we deem right ourselves, and that we may be able, if called upon to do so, to back up our words by that which makes brave words respectable—brave deeds. (Great applause.)

ADDRESS OF HON. CHARLES BOUTELLE.

The President—Gentlemen, I am forcibly reminded of the difference between the Western man of a few years ago and the Western man of to-day by brother Roosevelt's speech. Beveridge seems to grasp the idea that the case is to be defended by a navy as well as forts, but it was only at a meeting of the Republican Club some eight years ago, when we had Gov. Oglesby, of Illinois, as our guest, and the Governor said in a speech of four hours—(laughter)—which was only half of it—(laughter)—“Why should you people of New York be frightened about a war with foreign ironclads and ask for great appropriations and oppress the farmers of the West to get the money for a navy? Why, if a British fleet should come here in the harbor there are three million of experienced men who will come down here.” That was his view. We have here to-night the best representative of the navy that I know—(applause)—not the man who fights it but the man who makes it; and the man who has the courage of his convictions, and that courage comes at the right moment. Our State Department has issued an order by which none of our foreign representatives can say anything on the other side on any living question. John Hay, with the characteristic humor of his, has got around it by reading a Persian poem written two thousand years ago. (Laughter.) Sherman thinks that speech was conservative in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the United States. (Laughter.) You all remember a scene, most of us will never forget it, when a President of the United States came home from a duck hunting expedition—(laughter)—and was supposed to be in accord with all that was cheerful and festive, and the next morning the stocks went down about twenty-five per cent. and the business of the country was suspended for a month. On that particular occasion the Republicans of the Senate and the Republicans of the House tumbled over one another in their eagerness to approve the letter of President Cleveland which they thought meant maintaining the Monroe doctrine even at the expense of a war with Great Britain. There was one man who recognized two facts, one that we had

not a gun on our coast, that we had not a ship that could fight or a navy that amounted to anything; and another that the message gave away the Monroe doctrine when it said that if Venezuela chose to give up all her territory we would assent, when the Monroe doctrine was if she gave it up we would take her by the throat and would not allow her to do it. That was Mr. Boutelle. That vcte rehabilitated Mr. Cleveland and put him in the front rank of American saints. If Mr. Boutelle had been listened to Mr. Cleveland would have remained a sinner. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Brother Boutelle. (Cheers.)

Toast—THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I notice by the programme prepared for this magnificent occasion a printed suggestion that about this time it would be in order to make some incidental allusion to the Republican party. (Laughter.) And in view of the fact that no allusion has been made to that subject—(laughter)—up to this time, I suppose I ought to be delighted to embrace the opportunity to assist in the operation of grinding myself to pieces between the upper and nether millstones of a Depew and a Beveridge. (Laughter.) The only recourse that I have, the only alternative that I see before me, is in taking advantage of the nervousness of my friend, the Assistant Secretary, in his haste to catch that midnight train, and rush headlong through his memorizing of a very excellent speech and left the type-written copy on the table—(laughter)—as it presents the very strongest possible temptation for me to read it. However, as we are so closely associated officially in Washington, perhaps it would be wisest, at least during the existence of the present Administration, to treat him with a little more civility than that. I want to reassure, because I see clearly with that experience which I have obtained in looking into the faces of long-suffering audiences, that you all are fully satisfied that I am about to deliver the other four hours of Gov. Oglesby's speech. (Laughter.) But if you only will bear with me I will promise not to take more than two hours and a half. But to return to the subject which was assigned to me, I am a Republican—(cries of "Good," "good")—and even in the city of the residents of the Civil Service Reform League I am bold enough to say I am a Republican partisan. (Cries of "Good," "good.") I never knew anything in my life that was worth having that was not worth working for, and, if necessary, worth fighting for. (Cries of "That's right.") I never knew anything that was worth the gratitude or the remembrance of a great people in public life that could be accomplished by any one man plodding alone by himself in a corner. I know

also that everything that is noblest and highest and best in the civilization of the United States to-day has been accomplished by the organized effort of the grandest association of men known to history, banded together for the amelioration of the evils of society, for the advancement of the human race morally and materially, and that association has the name and the record and the history and the elements of the Republican party. (Great applause.) I did not need to come here to say that; and it was not necessary to ask me to come here to say it. I look upon myself here to-night as called from the trenches in Washington simply to give an object lesson or a reminder that there is an organized Republican party, and that there is something to do at the capital of this nation. (Great applause.) We are not in full possession of the Government that belongs to us, for we saved it under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln—(cries of "Good," "good")—and we have preserved everything in it that was worth preserving under the effort, the leadership and combined patriotism of the Republican party. But we have possession at least of the negative power in the capital of this nation to-day to save it from the powers of evil and reaction; thus far and no farther—(great applause)—and we will interpose that barrier until the American people, again clothed in their right minds, shall give to the Republican party that power and control in all the departments of our Government that will enable us to put into concrete form the highest principles and noblest aspirations of a great people. (Cries of "Hear," "hear.")

The humiliating spectacle that we had only a few days ago in Washington marks the necessity for this Republican restoration. A proposition so defiant of every rule of common sense and common honesty that it will amaze posterity that it could have lived an hour absolutely gains the endorsement of what is called the highest branch of the legislative department of the United States. The proposition to debauch the currency of our country, a proposition to smirch the honor of our people, a proposition to scale down every debt by one-half, a proposition to place the stamp of this Government in a living lie upon the coin of our country. (Cries of "Never!" "Never!") And that came across the Capitol until it reached the door of that branch of the American Congress which is controlled by the Republican party, thank God. (Applause.) And there it met the fate that every effort to violate the solemn pledge of a great people, handed down to us from our fathers, always will meet when Republicanism dominates the popular branch of the American Government. Webster said of Alexander Hamilton that he touched the prostrate corpse of the public credit and it sprang to its feet. We have not the power in Congress to do that to-day, but when the skeleton fingers of re-

pudiation and anarchy were stretched out beneath the dome of the Capitol to touch at the very vitals of American honor and American prosperity a Republican House of Representatives struck it with the paralysis from which it will never rise. (Great applause.)

The Republican party! Why, my friends, we have the character, the achievements, the utterances and the principles defended by Abraham Lincoln which furnish the proudest and most eloquent eulogy of the Republican party. No man needs to utter his admiration of that great organization. When I think of what the Republican party accomplished, of what it has meant to my country, I think of how frequently young men have said to me how much they would have given if they could have been old enough to have taken part as soldiers or sailors in the great patriotic uprising to save this Union. And I have sympathized with them, for it was my good fortune to have been born early enough to take an humble part. I sympathize with them, and in the same way it seems to me that every young man must feel a wish that he, too, could have voted for Abraham Lincoln; that he could have supported the great Republican organization in those days that tried men's souls. And I believe, Mr. President, without a shadow of doubt, that, throwing prejudice aside, if we could release men from the ties of consanguinity and from the domination of prejudice I believe that ninety-nine out of every hundred of the intelligent men of to-day would be glad to be associated with the record, history and achievements of the Republican party. (Great applause.) I am proud of being a Republican, as I am proud of being an American citizen. I am proud to be able to speak to-night in the great Empire State, with the knowledge that the Republican standard is floating over the Capitol at Albany. And while I regret that I am not speaking to-night, as I did on the last occasion when I had the honor of addressing an audience in this city, in a Republican city, I recognize that it is the fault of the Republicans only that that is so. (Cries of "Right," "right.") And, accepting the invitation of your distinguished President to speak plainly, I say that I know enough of New York, I know enough of the men of New York, to tell you that it will be the fault of the men who are looking me in the face in this magnificent chamber to-night if Van Wyck is not the last Democratic Mayor of Greater New York. (Applause.) There is a responsibility resting upon you that you cannot evade. The country is interested in this city. We all take a share of your prosperity; we are all humiliated by your mistakes. But we hold you responsible, and that responsibility to-day takes the form of imperative demand that every patriotic citizen in this great mart of trade and commerce, whether he be a Republican from the be-

giving or one of those patriotic Democrats who found his soul revolting against the pernicious doctrines and principles of his party; a responsibility resting upon you to begin; yea, you have begun to lay the foundation for a Republican victory in the future, and the happiest omen in American politics to-day is the reorganization of the Republican Club of the City of New York under the Presidency of a man of national reputation, who is allied with no factious prejudices, but has brought together here to-night men of all types of republicanism, men representing the advance of the party, with the determination that this club, which has done so much in the past, shall crown its efforts by becoming the rallying centre around which victorious Republicanism shall assemble at the next election and make the situation in New York absolutely secure. (Great applause.) I have said that the Republican party can be trusted to fulfill the will of the American people wherever and whenever it is put in power. I am not going to detain you to-night to prove that step by step, because history records, and the man who needs to have them repeated is too dull to take up the time of a banquet like this. But we have got to recognize that a political party must be greater in itself and its purposes than the whims, the purposes or the prejudices of any individual or any faction. (Great applause.) The man who cannot stand honorably and fraternally upon the broad principles of Republicanism, and to clasp hands with his neighbor and his friend in pushing them forward, is either too evil minded to be on the earth or too good to be this side of heaven. (Great applause.) There is a dispensation of common sense that lies at the base of human progress and human prosperity; and I say that any man, I care not what his abilities may be, who undertakes to disrupt the great organization of Republicanism, the man who undertakes to put an obstacle in the way of the harmonizing of the only conservative forces to which the people of this country can look, is putting rails in front of the great express limited train of human progress and he will be ground to powder in the end. (Great applause.) Just think of it. Take your own experience in this city. A year ago we were all exalted in the fact that we had a Republican administration in New York, and with a good man at the head of it. (Great applause.) And yet some of these people thought they saw spots on the sun—(laughter)—and therefore would not do their planting in the spring, got disgruntled for this, that and the other reason, and this magnificent army of ours that had carried its victorious standard from citadel to citadel of the Republic until it actually planted it in triumph over Tammany Hall and allowed reform of the Tammany type to have its precious way, and you are luxuriating to-day under the rule of that reimported and recently expatriated citizen who is now

giving out the plums among the boys and endeavoring to make things solid for the future. (Laughter.) My message here to-night is simply not to bring coals to Newcastle, not to give political points to New York Republicans, but to show you the interest that your comrades and friends feel in other parts of this country as to the situation here in this city. (Applause.) And I want to say a word upon a particular subject that is much agitated here in the press, that lies near to all your hearts, and that is in regard to the clamor for currency reform. Now, I am in favor of currency reform, but I am in favor of doing things that you can do. (Applause.) I am in favor of attending to that sort of business which pays now, and which gives us not only an advance at the present time but a foothold to progress in the future. We will take care of the currency question in Washington just as fast and so far as you have given us the power. And there are many of us who believe that we can in a measure take care of it by stimulating the prosperity of this country. But, however that may be, the man who is willing to waste his time sitting around on the street corners or the vestibules of hotels demanding that we shall have currency reform day after to-morrow, and blaming the Republican party for not fulfilling its pledges with the object lesson before them that within ten days the Senate of the United States has voted that we ought to have fifty cent dollars in this country, is not the kind of a citizen that you want to lead you in this new crusade. (Applause.) What the banker in Wall street and the railroad President and the business man in New York wants to-day is to just set himself to work to supply that missing power of the Republican party that is requisite for us to carry out and fulfill to the finality the work which the Republican party began when it declared for specie payments and accomplished it, and which it has been carrying forward ever since as fast as the assaults of Democracy and pessimism and deviltry have enabled us to do it. I can think of no better word to leave with you to-night and now than to invoke again your confidence in the Republican party as an organized, effective, invincible force in the politics of this country. Keep to your standard, and keep it so high we can see it from Maine to the Gulf. And when we have gotten the power which you can give us, and which no State in the American Union can attract so much as the State of New York, we will take care of every question that lies nearest to the hearts of honest, God fearing American citizens. (Great applause.) And that is no idle boast. Let me appeal to the record of the Republican party. The maintenance of the public faith in the financial honor of this nation has been a principle of the Republican party from which it never has been seduced by the sophistries of selfishness or driven by the organized hosts of

Democracy and deniagogism. From the hour when we took possession of a bankrupt treasury on the brink of the most gigantic civil war of modern times, the Republican party has never wavered in its purpose to hold the national integrity as sacred as the nation's life. (Great applause.)

The President—Now, gentlemen, we have listened with great interest to this always eloquent Congressman, Boutelle, and he wants to know what is the mission of the Republican party, and the business men especially, in New York. I will tell you what it is. We know that we only possess the House of Representatives. We know that the Pharisees of free silver and repudiation have the Senate, but what we ask is this, that the House of Representatives shall formulate a sound money bill and send it to the Senate, and let them defeat it; formulate it again, send it to the Senate, and let them defeat it again until the people—(great applause)—change the Senate. (Applause.) That will do more than harmonizing our party here in the city of New York, which will come about in due time, but which is not as great a responsibility as the Republicans of the House have upon them, which is to make this question so critical, and so crucial that a man who goes against it will be crucified if he does go against it. (Great applause.)

Congressman Boutelle—I want to say in response to your distinguished President that we will have a bill reported that will be agreed upon by even a fair majority of the business men of New York, and I will guarantee to have it passed. (Applause.)

The President—Boutelle will get that bill. (Great applause.)

Ex-Mayor Strong—Let us send the bill.

Congressman Boutelle—We will hail it as a glorious omen, not only that the New York Republicans but the New York business men are getting together.

The President—The question is shall we send such a bill to the House of Representatives and ask them to pass it on the previous question. (Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!") Those in favor will say aye. (Cries of "Aye." "Aye.") The motion is carried. (Laughter.)

ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY D. ESTABROOK.

Gentlemen, I regret to say that the Rev. Dr. Duffield, who was to make the concluding speech, has been taken sick and cannot be here. But what better conclusion could we have on Saturday night and for Sunday morning than the sentiment which is to be responded to by Mr. Estabrook, "The Mission of America." (Cheers for Estabrook.) The Mission of America is the toast, and the source and teacher is Estabrook.

Toast—MISSION OF AMERICA.

Fellow Republicans, and I take it that that is equivalent to saying "ladies and gentlemen:"—Your toast master has said some pleasant things about me, and I suppose, in conscience, I ought to say some pleasant things about your toast master, and in all sincerity I can say that I am agreeably disappointed in the personal appearance of your famous President. (Applause.) His complexion is not nearly so hectic, so apoplectic as I had been led to suppose from a recent portrait of him in the Sunday World. (Laughter.) That was the best illustration of a loud guffaw I ever looked at; the colors were so varied and so vivid that they fairly vibrated into sound. Democritus was caught in the vortex of his own laughter. It was the most ingenuous, most *open* face I ever looked into—(laughter)—a face welcomed everywhere because of the happiness it brings, never so nearly handsome, perhaps, as when it adds zest and piquancy to an occasion such as this; by no one regarded with more genuine affection than the people of Chicago. (Laughter.)

I was last in the city of New York during the late Presidential campaign—the campaign of education so-called—and really you were the forlornest, most discouraged body of students I ever encountered. You looked as if the curriculum of instruction marked out by Mr. Bryan was not altogether to your liking; you looked as if much study was a weariness of the flesh. And, truth to say, Mr. Bryan did seem to make everybody study—except himself. Indeed, he seemed to make everybody weary—includ-

ing himself. Weary is no name for it. It was a sort of pneumatic tire, so to speak. But the people learned their lesson; oh, yes. Just as in 1860 the people discovered that beneath all the platforms of party and the rage of politics there were the questions of national life and human slavery; just so in 1896 they came to realize that, beyond all the issues expressed, there was an issue unexpressed; for behind the youthful, smiling, romantic face of a Rienzi they could discern the bloodshot eyes and scowling visage of the anarchist and incendiary. It was a time for patriots to bethink them of the flag—that wonderful fabric, woven of air and sunshine, the air of freedom and the sunshine of God's hope, men's hearts the shuttles and all history the loom—it was a time for all patriots to bethink them of the flag! Mr. Altgeld has asserted that our appropriation of the flag was a conspiracy, but it was nothing of the sort. It was an impulse of the heart, as instinctive and spontaneous as the heart's deep love for the flag itself. Here in New York the flag movement was perhaps a growth, a development; in Chicago, of course, it was an explosion. The members of the Marquette Club, "of whom I am which," resolved that Old Glory should flame in the streets and billow in the winds until the music of each snapping fold and the glory of each tossing star would preach patriotism so loud that the bellowings of Bedlam would sound like the raucous whisper of a strangled lie. And, oh, boys—dear boys—the flag is still there, and McKinley with it. Once again the Republican party demonstrated that it is the guardian of this Republic—the party that made it, and saved it, and is yet to bring it forth the most glorious product of man's effort and God's providence: the only party in which the passionate longing for freedom—ultimate freedom—is tempered by the wisdom of patience; the only party which comprehends the insuperable distinction between true democracy and utter anarchy—the hope of America as America is the hope and beacon of the world!

Of course our destiny as a people and the mission we are to fulfill among the nations of the earth are in the hands of the Almighty, and we can only surmise his intention concerning us by a perusal of His Word. This I have made, and as I studied, the handwriting on the wall became more legible, the characters more easily translated, for I apprehend that in this nineteenth century we may, if we will, become more intimately acquainted with the mind and disposition of the All-wise concerning us than in any former period of the earth's history.

The nineteenth century itself is an age of accomplishment. It has gathered up the theories and experiments of the past and put them to the test. The student of the middle ages who from out the brooding silence of his cloister put forth occult principles

too deep for the comprehension of his contemporaries would find his novelties the platitudes of to-day. The scientist, who, with purblind intelligence, had announced the possibility of domesticating, so to speak, the elements about us, would find that fire, water and the subtle fluids of the air are the very drudges of mankind to-day. The common man, who in the time of Eschylus was simply a creation of the state, like a modern corporation, with rights and powers strictly limited by the State's charter, would find himself now a genuine sovereign who makes the State, a king as to every minutest particle of his individuality so long as that kinghood does not cross the kinghood of his fellow. Geologists who dredged the Dead Sea of the past to discover the age and origin of the world, might to-day read its history, like the decalogue, written by the finger of God on tables of stone. Philosophers who had speculated upon the mystery of life, its cause, its development, its purpose, might to-day stand face to face with the Creator. For the nineteenth century has groped its way into the laboratory of omnipotence; it has beheld nature, the agent of God, in her workday dress; it has stooped over her crucible and witnessed the mixing of strange forces and beheld how, from a floating wisp of vegetation, may be evolved life, the strangest of all forces.

In the nineteenth century the abstract has become the concrete. Thought has been made tangible. Ideas are materialized. Mind has become substance. Dreams are facts.

The past was amused at the smallness of the stars; we are appalled at their stupendousness. The past was amazed at the magnitude of the earth; the nineteenth century has reduced its area to inches. The past believed this globe to be the focus of the universe; we know it to be a mote in the whirl of worlds that rise like a cloud of dust in the wake of the Almighty's chariot.

And yet our little world has been the theatre of a mighty struggle, and he who cannot see, in the entirety of its history, a faint meaning and a divine intendment—prophecies fulfilled and in the process of accomplishment—is an atheist, to whom the marvels of creation are the happenings of chance. Thus saith the Scriptures: "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech." Again: "And the sons of Noah that went forth out of the Ark were Shem, Ham and Japhet—and of them was the whole earth overspread." The Bible affirms it and science confirms the statement. Shem, Ham and Japhet—Asia, Africa and Europe. Founded by brothers, all their posterity must have belonged to a common brotherhood—the descendants of the same progenitor—of equal parentage and of equal rights. But through an inscrutable destiny they separated and founded continents. Families segregated and became the nucleus of tribes; tribes grew

apart and became nations. Then came the confusion of tongues, and confusion worse confounded. The nations preyed upon each other, the weak were devoured by the strong, might made right, people were sold into bondage, fraternity, affiliation, humanity were forgot, and pride, arrogance and oppression held high carnival. Rapine and murder were committed in the name of law; torture and coercion were the persuasives of religion. Viewed from the civilization of to-day, the people of those times seem like a swarm of serpents, knotted and conglomerate, writhing in venomous and horrid passion. Above the hisses of these viper tongues there rose a laugh, drunken and insulent. It was the laugh of tyranny. Through the laugh, and coming from beneath, there was heard a groan. It was the groan of the people. Through the groan and through the laugh, and issuing from the depths of a soul's despair, a faint prayer struggled up to heaven. It was the prayer of Christianity.

The Saviour had foretold—nay, He had promised—that all the nations of the earth should be again reunited, and that righteousness should spring up and flourish. Was not the prophecy impossible of fulfillment? What! Submerge all languages into one? Break down national differences, prejudices and peculiarities? Dethrone kings, obliterate dynasties that had endured for centuries? As well reverse the laws of gravitation. Every field had been beaten into bloody clay, harvests had been showered with blood, every acre of ground enriched with human carrion, but national hatred was virulent as ever. When, how and where would the reunion come?

Lo! In the far West reposed a virgin continent—a world within a world. Two mighty oceans guarded its shores and threatened those who would disturb its slumbers. The roar and thunder of their waters was its majestic lullaby. Its bosom had never yet been wounded by the spade or share; for cycling ages its forests had made music like a harp when struck by the fingers of the storm. Grand, lonesome, yet peacefully it lay, “wrapt in a dream of God.”

The time was ripe. The preparations of six thousand years were drawing to a head. Behold—a bubble appears upon the surface of the deep; a breath from heaven could easily destroy it. A wave could engulf it. A monster of the sea might come forth and wreck it. But no—it does not burst! It comes! and the rising sun paints in miniature upon its surface God’s arch and covenant. It comes! bearing within its filmy walls the rainbow promise of liberty and hope.

O, Mayflower! blossom of the ocean! a lily “lolling on the wave,” the fairest seaweed that ever drifted to an unknown shore! The stateliest steamers, groaning with their weight of gems and

spices, have borne no burthens since so precious as thy freight of purpose and resolve! The proudest warship that ever bristled with its guns has borne no ordnance so invincible as thy crew's stout hearts. England had not banished these brave men—they had banished England! They had banished the old world for the new; the past for the future; despotism and intolerance for the hope of liberty and peace; and when they landed it was to pledge the soil, themselves and their posterity to the sacred cause.

The place was Plymouth Rock—the Gibraltar of human rights—a rock quarried by God himself to become the cornerstone of a new republic. And here it was that the noble and peculiar structure was begun. What should be the material of its foundations? Should it be gold, or iron, or commerce, or nobility, or caste? All these had been tried in the old world and had proven sand. And so it was resolved that the temple they would rear should be built upon IDEAS. Was not this a new building material? Was not this strange? And wise as strange?

Emerson has said that "The soul of God is poured into the world through the thoughts of men. The world stands on ideas, not on iron or cotton, and the iron of iron, the fire of fire, the ether and source of all elements is moral force. As cloud on cloud, as snow on snow, as the bird rests on the air and the planet on space in its flight, so do nations of men and their institutions rest on thought."

"All men are created equal." This was the first great idea. England heard of it across the Atlantic and was amused at the erratic notion. "Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed." This was another of those grand ideas. England heard of it and became furious; hence the revolution, which was the thunder upon Sinai.

The men of those days were few, but they were all great, and they were sufficient. From the twilight of the forests and the limitless expanse of prairies, where dwells the spirit of freedom, came forth a voice as of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way." It was Patrick Henry—the Voice of the Revolution. It was the scream of the eagle—the clarion of liberty! And as Henry was the voice, so Washington was the sword of the revolution, whose cruelty was tempered by wisdom; implacable and yet merciful, patient and yet swift as the lightning flash, a gleaming, two-edged instrument in the hands of fate.

The war was fought and the new ideas were vindicated. To fit them to be placed in the foundation of the new republic they were crystallized in a document drawn up by Thomas Jefferson and called the Declaration of Independence.

Here was the most extraordinary political code ever fulminated; but it was not Jefferson's. He but held the pen; the author was in the clouds.

All the world heard of the event. European labor shifted the burden from its shoulders for a moment and strained its weary eyes across the waters. It saw the white hand of freedom beckoning from the West. From all parts of the globe—from all climes—from Europe, Asia and Africa, the people of every nation, character and tongue flocked to render service in the upbuilding of so ambitious a structure. Foreign powers laughed at the motley spectacle. What inglorious failure awaited an undertaking born of the imagination and reared by ignorance! What riot and anarchy must ensue from such a diversity of habit, thought and language! Was America to be the new tower of Babel? Yes—yes, with these differences! Instead of a few square feet on the plains of Shinar for a basis, the new Babel comprehended a continent. Instead of the impious purpose of subverting the will of God, Jehovah himself was to be the architect. Instead of a dispersion of one nation and the confusion of tongues, the new Babel was to amalgamate all nations and unify all languages.

The work progressed. New ideas were from time to time built into the superstructure, until at last the workmen disagreed, and the destruction of the temple, so long predicted, seemed imminent and certain. The North and South differed on the question of slavery. Shem and Japhet were disposed to make a political sandwich of the descendants of Ham; hence the rebellion, which was the corollary of the revolution. For by this war the Declaration of Independence itself was vindicated; it became something more than a rhapsody of words, something more than a magnificent paradox. Four million people were made citizens instead of slaves.

The sublime character of this epoch was Abraham Lincoln, the dearest name, save one, on earth, at whose mention an ineffable tenderness warms the heart and gathers to the eyes.

Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, the mighty heroes of the war, have obeyed the trumpet call and joined the armies of the dead. The sword has been returned to its scabbard, but the flash and glitter of its blade, quivering through the bloody clouds of battle, will shine upon us always like the rays of another sun.

Fellow citizens, America, the tower and bulwark of human liberties, is still in process of erection. It was our fathers' task to die for it; be ours the harder task to live for it. We will not survive to see it finished; God forbid that we should survive to see it perish! We are responsible for the acts of our own generation and for the education of the next. Shall our institutions endure, and for how long?

"How long, good angel, oh, how long?
Sing me from heaven a man's own song.
 Long as thing art shall love true love,
 Long as thy science truth shall know,
 Long as thine eagle harms no dove,
 Long as thy law by law shall grow,
 Long as thy God is God above,
Thy brother every man below—
 So long, dear land of all my love,
Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow."

The past is history; a veil is before us, but through the gossamer of its texture I behold, as in a dream, countless faces leaning out of the future. They, too, shall meet to commemorate the life and the principles we commemoerate to-night. From the altitude of Now, from this zenith of history, look out upon the world. Behold! the Amercan idea is everywhere triumphant. France is a republic. England is a monarchy, to be sure, but only out of compliment to an impotent and aged queen. The Czar of Russia clings to his throne. It is a hen-coop in the maelstrom! The crumbling monarchies of the earth are held together only by the force of arms. Standing armies are encamped without each city. The sword and bayonet threaten and retard, but the seeds of liberty have been caught up by the winds of heaven and scattered broadcast throughout the earth. Tyranny's doom is sounded! The people's millenium is at hand!

And this—this, under God, is the mission of America. (Prolonged Cheers.)

The President—Gentlemen, one moment. At five minutes past 12 we close to-night the most successful celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln which has ever been held in the city of New York. We close it with the grandest anthem and the sweetest benediction that we have ever heard at any of our gatherings; which has come to us from the cyclone of the West. (Great applause.) We are here to-night of every shade of local opinion and local faction; but we are together on this occasion as Republicans and members of the grand Republican party. We have been together in the past; we will be together in the future, and in the memory of the past I trust that we will celebrate by singing that hymn which is in unison with the thoughts of a closing hour like this, Old Lang Syne, and if our chorister will lead us, ladies and gentlemen, that will be the benediction of to-night.

X 20 - 7

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 012 026 427 8